

The
Rise and Decline
of the
Zairian State

Crawford Young

Thomas Turner

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS

Contents

Illustrations and Figures	vii
Maps	ix
Tables	xi
Preface	xiii
Acronyms	xvii
1 The State in Zaire: An Introductory Perspective	3
2 Zaire in the Mobutu Years: An Overview, 1965–1980	47
3 The State and Civil Society: Capital, Town, and Countryside	78
4 The Dynamics of Inequality: Class Formation	100
5 The Ethnic Dimension of Civil Society	138
6 The Patrimonial State and Personal Rule	164
7 In Pursuit of Legitimacy: Party and Ideology	185
8 Regional Administration	221
9 The Seventh Scourge: The Security Forces	248
10 Economic Policy during the Mobutu Years	276
11 Zairianization and Radicalization: Anatomy of a Disaster	326
12 Zaire in the International Arena	363
13 Conclusion: Crisis of the Zairian State	396
Notes	409
Index	469

Illustrations and Figures

Illustrations

Colonie Belge	4
Etat Indépendant du Congo	5

Figures

4.1 Real Wage Movements, 1910–1978	134
10.1 Copper Price Movements, 1950–1977	308
12.1 Relations of Major Powers with Zaire, 1965–1978	394

Maps

Map 1.	Zaire: Political Sub-Divisions	9
Map 2.	Major Events, 1965–1970	48
Map 3.	Language Distribution and Ethnic Groups	141

Tables

3.1	Urban Population Growth	81
3.2	Per Capita Income Changes, 1957–1970	82
3.3	Government-Approved Investment Projects, by Region, 1969–1972	83
3.4	Power Consumption by Region, 1972	83
3.5	Demand Bank Deposits by Region, 1971–1974	84
3.6	Zairian Wage Employment, 1915–1970	85
3.7	Sectoral Employment, 1958–1970	86
3.8	Public Sector Employment of Zairians, 1960–1978	86
3.9	Sex Ratios of Adult Zairians in Kananga, 1955–1972	89
3.10	Index of Government-Fixed Agricultural Prices, 1960–1974	94
3.11	Consumer Goods Prices, Kikwit (Bandundu), 1968–1976	95
3.12	Income per Month by Sex, Rural Bandundu Sample, 1973–1975	97
4.1	Stratification and Class in Zaire	103
4.2	Length of Service as Minister and/or Political Bureau Member, 1965–1975	118
4.3	Changes in Remuneration Level within the Sub-Bourgeoisie, 1960–1965	124
4.4	Indices of Wages, Prices, and Real Wages, Kinshasa, at Official Minimum Wage (UNTZA data)	132
4.5	Indices of Nominal and Real Wages and Salaries, 1974–1977 (IBRD data)	133
5.1	Regional Origins of Second Republic Political Elite, 1965–1975	151
5.2	Comparison of Secondary School Populations, 1962 and 1978	156
6.1	The CELZA Plantation Empire	180
6.2	CELZA Share of Total Zairian Production, Agricultural Commodities, 1976	180

6.3	Cattle Holdings in Zaire, 1975 Estimates	181
7.1	Occupational Distribution of Legislative Candidates, Mongala Subregion, 1970	203
8.1	Position, Rank, and Salary of Regional Administrators, Lisala, 1974	229
8.2	Rural Collectivities by Type and by Region, 1972	235
10.1	Government Budgets, 1964–1966	278
10.2	Inflation Rate, 1960–1967	279
10.3	Primary Commodity Production, 1959–1980	282
10.4	Ownership of UMHK, End of 1965	289
10.5	Leverage in the Zaire-UMHK Conflict	292
10.6	Taxation and Profits of Gécamines	294
10.7	Africanization of Gécamines Management, 1967–1980	296
10.8	Zairian Terms of Trade, 1967–1975	309
10.9	Returns to Peasant Farm Labor, Northern Zaire, 1973–1974	313
10.10	Comparative State Cotton Prices, 1970	317
10.11	Returns to Peasants on Main Cash Crops, Gandajika, 1974	318
10.12	Cotton Prices	319
10.13	Public Finance, 1970–1977	323
10.14	State Consumption Levels	324
10.15	Inflation, 1970–1978	324
11.1	Effects of Zairianization in Lubumbashi	341
11.2	Effects of Zairianization in Bumba	342
11.3	Radicalization: The Ten Scourges and Their Remedies	352
12.1	Zaire's External Public Debt, 1972–1977	386
12.2	Debt Service Obligations, 1978–1983	387